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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XIII. No. 5.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1903

PRICE TWO CENTS

TWO LETTERS

"The Logical Center" to Mrs. Olive M. Johnson—Mrs. Olive M. Johnson to "The Logical Center."

The letters printed below require no explanation, and are, therefore, printed without comment:

I.
"Workingmen of All Countries Unite."
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Secretary,
Wm. J. Eberle, Official Organ,
12 Hoff St., The Socialist Standard,
Allegheny, Pa.

Temporary National Executive Committee.

Pittsburg, Pa., April 7, 1903.

Olive Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.—Dear Comrade: At the Socialist conference held in Philadelphia, Pa., on February 22 of this year, a resolution was passed requesting the Temporary National Executive Committee, located at Pittsburg, to issue a Socialist paper as soon as possible.

This committee has decided that the first issue of this paper shall appear on labor's international holiday, May 1, 1903.

The name chosen for the paper is the "Socialist Standard," and we earnestly hope that by wise and directed effort we shall be able to make it truly a standard for Socialist truth.

The committee, having knowledge of your abilities as a writer and exponent of clear Socialist thought, earnestly desired your aid and active co-operation in this serious work, and in the name of the working class we, therefore, invite you to contribute such articles as you can, regularly from week to week if possible. If you cannot contribute from week to week, then contribute from time to time, as your conditions will allow.

Articles, whether long or short, treating upon the sociological problems of our times, as viewed from a Socialist standpoint; matters of history containing object lessons or illustrating ideas; items of news that tend to throw light upon the development of the class struggle; political and economical matters; newspaper or magazine clippings that might be useful to the management of the Socialist Standard; comments on and criticisms of such clippings; happenings on the field of capital or labor—all these, and many other items too numerous to mention, will be of value to us.

As the 1st of May is near at hand, as the first number is expected to contain eight pages and as many articles will be needed to fill the columns of the closely following numbers, we hope to receive one, or if possible a greater number, of articles from you at your earliest convenience—within a week or ten days if you can so manage.

Kindly inform us by return mail what we can expect from you in this line, both as to immediate contributions and future assistance, in order that we may be able to arrange accordingly, and oblige, yours fraternally,

Temporary National Executive Committee.

—Per Wm. J. Eberle, Secretary.

No. 12 Hoff street, Allegheny, Pa.

II.

Open Letter in Answer to the Above.

To the Temporary National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, of Pittsburg, Pa., better known as "The Logical Center": W. J. Eberle, Secretary—Dear Sirs: Yours of the 7th inst. at hand and the contents noted. To your request for contributions from my pen for the columns of the latest "seven days wonder" of Socialistic journalism let me answer a most emphatic NO! The reasons for that NO, which can not be set in too large type to suit me, are as follows:

Very nearly eight years ago I cast my lot with the Socialist Labor Party, after thorough deliberation and with a full realization of what I did. Fully perceiving that the children of the wage working class are wage slaves by birthright, and having abandoned with the earliest days of romantic childhood the time-honored possibility of being elevated out of that class by an alliance to some wealthy lord or by sudden death of an unknown relation, I found myself thoroughly bound to the wage-slavery which I hated and despised. Learning ere long that hard and honest toil never brought any one an iota higher in the social scale, and that only such few could reach any elevation as were placed in a position to trample on others in their onward and upward march, I then realized too plainly that only as the class to which I belonged was elevated could I myself and those dear to me be permitted to enjoy a more worthy existence. Again, it became plain to me, after some annoying experiences, that all reform was positively futile, whether aiming at patching up a society rotten ripe for overthrow or at the purification of it by purifying the individuals—an impossible process, as the tendencies of present conditions are

toward pollution instead of purification. Having at that stage become acquainted with the S. L. P., the rest was easy, and, as I said, after due deliberation and comparison with other parties I cast my lot with it.

These two things were clear to me: First, that only by a political organization, on the basis of the class struggle, could the working class accomplish its emancipation from wage slavery; and, second, that the S. L. P. was the nucleus of such an organization, that would become, for weal or for woe, exactly what the working class had the intelligence and class-consciousness to make it—nothing more and nothing less. Following this formula, I threw myself wholeheartedly into the movement; and, however little I then understood of its philosophy and the entire width and significance thereof, I fully realized the necessity of discipline, clear vision, straight tactics and undaunted perseverance, and hence the S. L. P. has never drawn the lines too tight, because too "narrow" or demanded too much of its adherents to suit me, and, consequently, the party has never found me among its disgruntled, "liberty loving" or "fired-feeling" spirits. I entered the battle determined to fight it to a finish, and the dark danger clouds which overhang the Revolution and which are today plainly seen on the social horizon ought but to spur the revolutionists to renewed energy, and I for one am far from ready to hide my head in the sand just yet.

Let me say this, too, about myself: I was a wage slave when I entered the party and am so yet, though a little differently situated, and never did I look to the MOVEMENT as the thing to better my economic and social circumstances; of the social revolution and the Socialist republic alone do I expect that, hence I never met with personal disappointment in the party and never expect to. Therefore, of course, you should not expect to find me in the ranks of disappointed office-seekers or in league with those who look to the movement as a means of present social elevation.

Now, as to the S. L. P. No fault has been found with its platform, none with its principles—a good deal with its tactics. But of the S. L. P. tactics we can truly say that "we love them for the enemies they have made," and is there not to-day many an honest, disgruntled worker forced to acknowledge their soundness and logic? In fact, the sum and substance of the fault-finding with the party reduces itself to the single word—Bossism!

Now, granted for the sake of argument (what otherwise no present proof, of course, warrants me to grant) that De Leon and Kuhn are all they have been accused of—the former a pope, a boss, a tyrant, a pirate, a counterfeiter, etc., etc., etc.; the latter an unscrupulous politician, a rascal, a trickster and some other bad things. Why then, in the name of common sense, run away and leave them with the instrument which we, by great effort and at a great cost, have built up? Would it not be acting more like rational beings to, at a very short notice, land the rascals where they belong? But granted further that the trickiness of the two aforesaid is so enormously great that the whole membership stands powerless and "can not get rid of them." Being thus subjected, rule or ruin befalls the party. Now then, if this is the condition, can you, Mr. Eberle, or any of your associates prove to me how I can better myself by a jump or two—forward, backwards, sideways or by any of the acrobatic feats performed in the entire animal kingdom? Did the kangaroos in 1898 jump away from "bossism" and "political tricks," when they are now about the words at each other all over the land? Are you yourself quite sure that some germs, which upon occasion may develop into bossism and trickism, do not lay latent among the gallant crusaders who constitute your staff?

As a member of the S. L. P., you ought to understand that I could never become a contributor to your prospective organ (for, though you sail under the name, kindly do not consider me stupid enough to think that an expelled or seceded body—or both, as your case is—has any legal or moral right to deck itself in such finery as it could snatch up and carry off on its departure), and I shall not sever my connection with it until I have good grounds for doing so.

Prove the following and I am with you: First, that when De Leon and Kuhn are proven (proven, mind you, not merely shouted at) to be any or all of the bad things mentioned, the party cannot, constitutionally and orderly, like civilized and honorable and self-respecting men and women, place them out of harm's way. Second, that nature in constructing this pair did use up all its material for "bossism" and "trickery" that it can dispense with in two or three generations; or else that your party is so constructed, on a different basis than the S. L. P., that such characters can get no possible opportunity.

HOW 'TIS DONE IN WALL STREET

A STORY THAT THE CAPITALIST PRESS HAS CAREFULLY SUPPRESSED.

Trust Companies' Way of "Doing Business" — Presidents and Directors Throwing Dice For the Right of Way to Rob Depositors—Details of a Recent Event That Actually Took Place.

Here is the true story of the failure of a large trust company located in New Jersey for which a receiver was appointed last February, and which no capitalist paper dared to print at that time. For obvious reasons names are left out—at present.

When the bank examiner was asked at the time of the receiver's appointment if he had any statement to make, he replied: "From looking over the books of the company, I find that the officers and directors indorsed so much paper and borrowed so much money from the institution that their indebtedness to it is more than its entire capital, surplus and undivided profits."

One of the vice-presidents, who is a man of high military titles and otherwise connected with and the protégé of leading capitalists in financial and journalistic circles, is shown by the examiner's report to have been liable at the time of closing for \$53,001, of which \$17,500 was his own paper and \$15,101 paper indorsed by him. The gentleman has since paid his indebtedness.

The bank examiner says investigation of the books show a deficiency of \$44,109.12, the assets being only \$485,039.86, against liabilities of \$529,168.98.

The report shows that the officers and directors have borrowed and indorsed for other borrowers to the extent of \$141,133.89, of which \$85,352.92 was located on their own paper.

The bank examiner believes several of the directors are not financially able to meet their liabilities. Some of them are indebted to other banking institutions, and the examiner says it is extremely doubtful if they can pay.

For a long time previous to the closing of the doors of the trust company severe and repeated criticisms of the banking department of the company has resulted from the loaning of such large sums to the directors, but the criticisms have been disregarded. Special attention was often called to the liabilities of two of the leading directors in particular.

The liability of one of them is large in comparison with his own available assets. The examiner was informed that this particular gentleman is indebted to a certain National Bank \$20,000 on his own paper, and that he is liable for \$20,000 more as indorser. The examiner said that the known assets of this gentleman were so small that the company should not have loaned him money.

The examiner asserts also that the paper of another "debtor" of the concern, who is the brother of its treasurer, is of doubtful value and that the financial responsibility of the treasurer and his brother did not warrant the acceptance of the paper as security.

According to the report, the president

is a director in a certain company of Mexico, whose shares are not quoted on any exchange in the United States, and the trust company loaned on this "collateral" \$22,500 without any apparent security and without information showing that the company would ever be able to pay the amount. Stock of this company was accepted as security for a loan of \$5000 made to another "financier."

These loans were made in violation of Section 7 of the trust company law, which requires a margin in collateral securities. In these cases the loan was issued at the par value of the copper stock, which stands as the sole security, the president and his pal not being financially responsible for the amount, according to the examiner.

Only \$14,002.50 was on hand when the company closed its doors, and there were bills to meet amounting to \$80,000, besides \$7,995 owed to banks and payable on demand.

Deputy Insurance Commissioner Johnson, of New Jersey, in an interview recently, said that there was nothing in the New Jersey law to prohibit directors from borrowing money from their own companies they being on the same footing as individuals.

So much for the bank examiner's report and for the statement of Commissioner Johnson on trust company law defining directors' duties to their stockholders, etc.

Now comes the facts, which bank examiners, owing to political pressure, dare not make public.

After January 10, the president of the company called upon the treasurer and secured a loan of \$8500 offering as collateral stock in the said copper company of Mexico, whose shares in the Wall Street market would not bring 8 cents per pound. The loan was procured in something like this fashion:

"Mr. Treasurer, as president of the copper company of Mexico, I desire to borrow \$8500 from the trust company, for which I will deposit collateral equal to said amount in the stock of the copper company of which I am the head."

Before the treasurer of the institution, could utter a word, the president would walk to the end of the directors' table and announce that "as president of the trust company he decreed the stock of the said copper company to be excellent collateral and that the treasurer had better let gentlemen have his loan, and as evidence of good faith he, Mr. Treasurer, might retain for his trouble the \$500," which he did on two occasions, for, about the 15th of the same month a similar performance was enacted. All of which is known, but neither papers nor bank examiners dare tell the public—for political reasons, the president and directors being factors in the Republican party of New Jersey, and friends of long standing of Governor Murphy of that State.

But the president and his pal were not getting rid of the surplus of the institution fast enough, so on the 21st day of January, the president forged the name of a clerk in the employ of the president's brother, who is a real estate broker, to a note for \$8200. The

note was not countersigned or indorsed by even the village grocer, but before the treasurer could hand over the funds to the president, the director he had been in conspiracy with and one other director, heard of the transaction and notified the president that they wanted a portion of the plunder. Then a dispute arose as to how it could be disposed of satisfactorily to all concerned. It was then that the president's brain evolved a scheme. It was simply this. After business hours let us adjourn to the board room and throw dice—to see who gets the money. They did so.

The director won the money. Three times that week the same process was resorted to for various sums and on February 10, about a week before the institution closed its doors, it is said that the wife of the president purchased from a Fourth avenue, New York, furniture store a half dozen chairs for which she paid \$125 apiece, part of the money her husband robbed the trust company of.

Another trick of this president, et al. was upon the receipt of a notice from the bank examiner that he would visit the institution to show a clean bill of health—in a financial sense, by going to the local bank, of which he was a director and borrowing for a day or two sufficient assets to satisfy the examiner when they would be returned to the bank's vaults, pending a return visit from that State official. All of this examiners knew, but it was never made public, for every Republican machine politician with the exception of Chancellor McGill, has moved heaven and earth to prevent the officials of the busted concern from going to Trenton prison for a long term.

Couple the above arraignment of facts with the following interview with one of the directors and then see what protection have the stockholders and the depositors of banking institutions to-day. And bear in mind the career of this particular trust company is but a reflex of a great number of kindred institutions throughout the United States.

Here is that director's statement as to his stewardship:

"I cannot understand why I am put down as a debtor to the concern. I am vice-president of the trust company and have some stock in it. I got in it because my farm is down near Asbury Park."

"I did borrow some money from the company at various times, just as any one giving satisfactory security could have borrowed, but I paid back every cent as the bank examiner has already testified."

"As for the indebtedness of the directors, I know nothing. My duties as vice-president did not require me to pay attention to the details of the company's business, and I was not even there once in six months. That is all I know about the matter. The incident is closed as far as I am concerned."

Readers of The People can see from the above how ably these directors, presidents, vice-presidents, etc., ear their "wages of superintendence," and just how much application they put to the wheels of commerce and how well qualified that class is to write essays on "thrift," "success," etc.

collective, case were actually too self-respecting to make a dicker) and talking Socialism (!: God save the mark), in company with one of the greatest acknowledged freaks in Christendom—Joe Andree, of Merrie England—Appeal to Nonsense and wood-selling fame. During the meeting Joe takes occasion to tell the hearers that Fay is an M. D. (God save that mark, too), lives at 34 Wash avenue South and has always been a "friend of the workingman" (!: The Almighty kindly see to this mark, also).

As a Socialist and a revolutionist I believe that the most important work of the Socialist movement to-day is organization—thorough, sound, class-conscious, disciplined, tight-rope organization—and, therefore, I will stay with the party—The Socialist Labor Party of the United States and Canada (as distinguished from your Logical Center brand)—whose aim and effort it is to build up such an organization, even should it be necessary to assume figuratively (thanks to the "31" for the figure) the "roles of Robespierre and Danton" and get the "guillotine" into play.

Now, T. N. E. C., etc., if you wish to print this in your list of May number you are welcome. It is the first and last notice I intend to take of you; so, unless you are desirous to help us out of the coal famine, which the cold weather causes us to feel yet, you might as well at once erase my name from that stolen Labor Library list.

Olive M. Johnson.
1931 Bluff street South, Minneapolis.
Minn., April 15, 1903.

When Joe Buchanan first learned that I was reading The People he was thoroughly disgusted. He said the paper was a disturber and made vicious and spiteful attacks on men. "Why," said he, "I understand, though I have not read it, that it even attacks me." Joe told me that he, too, was a Socialist, but that it was possible for one to be a Socialist and sensible at the same time. When I instanced certain charges, made by The People at the time, against some labor fakir, charges backed up with proofs, Joe refused to pass upon the acts of another in the "red light thrown upon such alleged acts by the unfriendly and unreasonable." Every man, he said, had the right to exercise all the privileges of free citizens.

Buchanan's enthusiasm for Bryan was due to the fact that the concern for which he worked decided to support the Democratic nominee. This house supplies patent insides for small papers. You can get their matter for any kind of a paper. One man, for instance, edits a Democratic page, still another a "Reform" page. Joe, who was advertised as "well and favorably known in labor circles," edited the "Labor" page. The house thought that there would be a greater demand for the anti-Republican pages, so Joe had to swing into line. Had the Populists repudiated instead of endorsing Bryan, I have no doubt that Joe, driven by his material interests, could have kicked over the Populist traces in favor of the Nebraskaan.

I met many men of queer minds in my political wanderings. On one occasion the Journal of the Knights of Labor contained a letter written by a Jersey City resident, in which the writer advised the order to vote the Populist ticket. Just at that time we were looking for congressional timber. We were so afraid that we would win that we sought the best man possible who would accept. The name of the writer in the K. of L. paper suggested itself to several of us, and a committee was appointed to wait on this, to us, utter stranger, to see if he could be induced to take the risk of an election to Congress. I was one of the committee.

We found a pompous little individual who was glad to see us. He evidently had a mania for seeing his name in print. Not only that but every public man who was rash enough to make an utterance became a target for a letter from the little gentleman. We were there fully an hour before we got a chance to make known our mission. He talked and talked. It was: "I have expressed my views on that in the Disappearing Nation; let me read you the article." Before he could get breath he would start off declaiming and explaining as he went along. His children were called in to find more scrap books and papers. Next we would be regaled with a letter he had written to Senator Sorghum, and perhaps the Senator's answer. One of the committee whispered to me: "If we could get him elected he would know all the people down there."

At length, after sundry exchanges of glances and winks between the members of the committee, I made bold to tell the cock sparrow our errand. He was just the man for us and here was the office seeking the man. It was the old story of Cincinnatus at the plow over again.

The little man was greatly overcome. He believed with us with but few reservations, but—he was not a citizen. One of the committee whose polite education had been neglected and who was rather given to making pointed remarks observed that the little man was rather cheeky in advising voters to do what he himself couldn't. The little man drew himself up to his full height and said: "I am a citizen of the world and I have the right to my own opinion." We afterward found out that the little man was born in England; and, of all nationalities coming to these shores the Englishman retains his original citizenship the longest. The last I heard of this citizen of the world he was with the Kangaroos. It don't matter to them whether a man is a citizen or not. I have been told that they proposed to nominate non-citizens as candidates, and even solicited non-citizens to sign nominating papers. "What's the difference," they argue, "they won't get elected anyway."

I once got a letter from a man who could, "without assistance," write platitudes. He could hold an audience of 5000 for five hours listening to the words of wisdom that dropped from his lips. He could talk twice a day six days in the week, besides editing a paper and canvassing the State. He had spent over \$3000 in the reform business; when he wrote to me he was broke and offered to work for board and clothes. He was pining for the chance

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POLITICAL WANDERINGS.

In Which Peffer, Wayland and Freaks and Fakirs Are Weighed and Found Wanting.

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LA DUE'S DEMANDS

Prevented the Building of the Syracuse "Labor Temple."

Syracuse, N. Y., April 25.—In the fall of 1901, "organized labor" in this city agitated for several weeks to secure the erection of a "Labor Temple." This agitation was largely conducted by the fakirs. All of a sudden the whole proposition fell to the ground. The agitation ceased, for some reason or other; no one seemed to be able to explain why, but, like murder, all those things leak out, sooner or later.

The writer, a few days ago, in conversation with a real estate man, by the name of J. A. Beswick, got the whole story, which gives additional evidence of the corruption of the labor fakir. It also shows how the fakir has the same desires, as his brother, the capitalist, to live on the backs of the working class.

This is how it leaked out. While in conversation with Mr. Beswick, a labor fakir by the name of Joseph La Due, went by; he is President of the Retail Dry Goods Clerks' Union No. 243. In 1901, during the agitation for the "Labor Temple," he was a trustee of the Trades Assembly.

The writer made the remark, as La Due passed, "there goes a labor fakir." Beswick looked and said: "That's just what he is." This prompted me to ask him what he knew about La Due. He said: "Do you remember when the Trades Assembly was trying to buy the Laconcha bath house for a Labor Temple?" "Yes." "Well I secured an option on the bath house from the bank and was going to sell it to the Trades Assembly for \$50,000. The plan of sale was to issue bonds for the \$50,000; take those bonds to the business men and capitalists and dispose of them. If the business men would show a disposition not to buy, why it was intended to threaten them with the boycott. All my business was done through the trustees of the Trades Assembly. On that board was Joseph La Due, Patrick Lenard (carpenter), and Joseph Michaels (bartender). I am not sure that Michaels was on the board, but he was one of the three men with whom I had to deal, anyhow."

"Now, to get this proposition through the assembly, it required work and influence. And those three men were the men that must do it. I expected to make a good thing out of it myself, because that is my business, and I was willing to pay those labor leaders for their work. Mr. Michaels was satisfied with \$300. Pat Lenard was satisfied with a good contract in fixing the building over to suit the assembly, but this La Due wanted \$1000, and as there was nothing left for me I did not do any more. That is why the Trades Assembly, Labor Temple scheme did not go through. La Due wanted the whole hog or none." Beswick says he is willing to make an affidavit that the foregoing is true. T.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

Monster Mass Meeting of S. L. P.—Fair of S. T. & L. A.

The month of May brings with it International Labor Day, which breathes of freedom—freedom on the part of those who celebrate it from intellectual subjection to the slavery of capitalist-taught modes of reasoning. This day also breathes of freedom for the wageslave who is not yet free—freedom not only from intellectual, but from physical slavery—from wageslavery in all its forms.

"He who would be free himself must strike the blow," and those who truly celebrate International Labor Day, members of the Socialist Labor Party already mentally free from the slavery of capitalist thought, are willing to be fully free and ready to strike a blow to that end. They realize, however, that one blow or one thousand blows struck by as many individuals cannot secure the emancipation of the workers from wageslavery.

For this reason they call upon their fellow workers to join with them in the celebration of May Day and make it a day of agitation and celebration. Such a celebration will be held by the S. L. P. of New York on Saturday evening, May 2, at Cooper Union, which will be addressed by well known exponents of Socialist principles as follows: M. T. Berry, John J. Kinneally, Daniel De Leon, Frank D. Lyon and James T. Hunter. All workers should attend and make this meeting the rousing success it deserves to be.

On the same evening, at the Beechthorn Mannerhor Hall, 210-214 East Fifth street, not more than a stone's throw from Cooper Union, a reception and fair will be held under the auspices of District Alliance 49, S. T. & L. A., the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the carrying on of agitation on the economic field. As this affair will continue till one o'clock in the morning there will be ample opportunity for those who attend the Cooper Union meeting to visit the fair. Good music will be furnished and dancing will last from 7 p. m. to 1 a. m. Do not forget the Mass Meeting and the Fair. Let us all attend!

(Continued from Page 6.)

USE IT. A LARGE PACKAGE FOR TEN
CENTS. BIG BARGAIN.
J. W. TEPPER & CO.,
470 E. Houston St., N. Y. City.

TRUSTS

Their Definition, Formation, Operation, Effects on the Working and Middle Classes, and Remedy

Trusts are, without exception, the most discussed of modern subjects. Before them other topics appear spasmodic and efferescent. The Boer War, the coal strike, the Venezuela complications and even the higher criticism may temporarily rivet attention, only to be compelled by the prominence of other incidents in the complex life of modern civilization to join that endless procession of events known as recent history.

But not so with the trusts. They grow from day to day, acquiring greater power and significance in their growing, conquering the world with their varied manifestations and arousing universal interest to an absorbing, intense and generally hostile pitch.

The trusts are epoch making. The beginning of the capitalist era was marked by the concentration of industry in factories. The beginning of the trust era (for it is only in its inception) marks the consolidation of the corporations controlling industry in trusts and their combined actions in groups. It is this far-reaching fact that gives the trusts their transcendent interest.

The development of the trust in this country has been tremendous. On December 1, 1902, Moody's "Manual of Securities" placed the number of industrial trusts at 850, with a capitalization of \$9,000,000,000. If railroad consolidations are added this capitalization reaches the enormous sum of \$15,000,000,000. More recent figures, those compiled by Representative Littlefield, of Maine, show that on January 1, there were 793 trusts whose total capitalization amounted to \$13,750,517. By adding that of the steam railroads the capitalization reaches the stupendous total of \$23,438,881,008. This aggregate capitalization represents nearly one-seventh the entire wealth of the country, which is estimated at \$94,300,000,000.

In Germany, which follows this country closely in industrial organization, the trusts are growing rapidly. The Wall Street Journal is authority for the statement that at the beginning of 1902, there were 380 trusts in that country, of which 300 were manufacturing trusts and 80 dealers trusts. Since then there has been an increase to 400, largely due to chemical combinations. The German trusts are establishing a national combination to be affiliated with the Association of German Manufacturers.

England, too, has trusts of about an equal number, though not so highly developed. The trend, however, is in the same direction. France, Austria, Russia, also have their trusts, but in a lesser degree.

In the foregoing facts and figures, we see another reason for the predominating position occupied by the trusts in the discussion of the day. The trust is a phase of economic evolution that is being experienced in a wide variety of nations at one and the same time. The trust is an international problem. This gives its epoch-making feature a more poignant character.

The Definition of Trusts.

Despite the fact that they are the most discussed of modern subjects, the trusts are little understood. They are judged, in the popular mind, by their present or prospective results—by the rise in the price of beef and coal or their probable effects on the retail tobacco dealer—rather than by any knowledge of their various forms. This is a serious drawback for the various forms of trusts are a direct result of the evolution in the forms of capitalist property made necessary by economic pressure. Once this is firmly grasped, the impossibility of destroying trusts by reactionary methods and the necessity of remedying their evils through Socialism, will become apparent.

A capitalist writer on trusts shows the similarity between them and trusts in real estate and personal property, which preceded them, and of whose principles they are adaptations. A trust in real estate or personal property is the holding of real estate or personal property by a custodian for the benefit of the actual owner or owners. This custodian, or trustee, is the legal, though not the actual, owner or beneficiary of the real estate or personal property in his care. He administers the estate and is legally responsible for it. A trust, in the industrial world, is the legal ownership of the shares of separate corporations by a trustee, who holds them in trust for the actual owners under an agreement executed by and between them. The object is to effect a combination and, as in the case of a trust in real estate, keep the property involved intact. The trustee administers these separate stock companies as one and is legally responsible for them. The trustee may be composed of another stock company or syndicate organized for the purpose, or to whom care of the shares of the corporations have been assigned under the agreement. The Northern Securities Company is a trust. It is the legal owner of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroad systems, with a capital of \$400,000,000. It holds and votes the stocks of those systems, though maintaining their separate existences, in order to avoid the anti-trust law, which prohibits the consolidation of common carriers as a restraint of trade, a plan which has

been legally condemned by the recent "merger" decision.

Pools, agreements, combines and consolidations, are not, technically speaking, trusts, though they are in some degree, essentially like them. A pool is merely an organization to regulate prices, or to undertake certain industrial regulations for a prescribed time and purpose. The various railroad traffic and steel associations are pools. They involve no exchange or transfer of stocks or control of plants.

In agreements, contracts or common understandings, bind the corporations interested. By means of them production is restricted, prices regulated and territory allotted, but the shares and plants of the corporations are left in the hands of their actual owners. There is, in this form of combination, no trust agreement and no trusts, strictly speaking. The so-called Beef Trust, for instance, was such an agreement.

A combine differs from an agreement in that an association is formed between the corporations interested. This association performs practically the same functions as an agreement, except it may, and often does, in addition, act as a selling agent, while having the power to apportion sales and inflit fines for any infraction of its carefully framed rules and regulations. In the combine, as in the agreement, the shares and plants involved are the property of the corporations interested. The so-called Pipe Trust which existed in this country some years ago, was an example of a combine, many of which still exist in the steel and iron industry.

A consolidation is composed of a number of corporations that have given up their separate existences, as far as possible, and become one. With the consolidation there is no exterior organization like a trust or a combine, though there may be and are agreements and combinations with other trusts and combines. The United States Steel Corporation—the Steel Trust—is the best example of a consolidation. In the language of its president, Charles M. Schwab, it is "a company of companies," giant ones at that, as they own or control 77 per cent. of the steel and iron industry of the country.

Aside from these specific definitions of trusts in all their forms, there are some general ones worthy of notice. One of these defines a trust as a consolidation, combine, pool or agreement of two or more competing concerns, which establishes a limited monopoly with power to fix prices or rates in any industry or group of industries. Another definition, still better, may be extracted from Frank Vanderlip's words, when he speaks of "the movement toward concentration as the movement to aggregate industrial establishments into single great corporate units." This defines a trust as "a great single corporate unit" which it truly is fast becoming.

From all of the foregoing, it will be seen that trusts are composed of corporations that have in some degree given up their independent existence and united with other corporations or groups of corporations for the purpose of controlling production and distribution. Trusts represent united corporate activity as opposed to independent corporate activity, just as the factory represented concentrated industry as opposed to the scattered domestic industry which preceded it. The trust is another step in the evolution that is socializing production and distribution.

The Formation of Trusts.

Trusts are an evolution from lower to higher forms of capitalist production. The first step toward consolidation was taken away back in the era of small production. The first two men who decided to unite their capital in a partnership began it. Partnerships were found to have certain legal and economic drawbacks. Each partner was liable for all debts incurred regardless of the amount he had invested. No suit could be brought against the partnership without serving all the partners. Death generally ended it. As a result of these drawbacks there arose the limited partnership. This form limited the period of partnership and the liabilities of the partners. A man forming a partnership with others in active business, could, for instance, advance \$1000, say, and escape liability for any greater amount by filing a certificate with the proper clerk's office and advertising the fact that he was only a special partner. On the heels of this limited partnership came a system by which shares were allowed, that is, certificates of stock were issued equivalent to the interests of the partners, and could be sold by them to others. A quasi-corporation was thus formed. Logically the next step was the creation of the corporation. According to Blackstone, "a corporation is an artificial person created for the preserving in perpetual succession certain rights, which, being conferred on natural persons would fall in process of time." As will be seen the corporation insures the continuation of an enterprise. Those composing it may die, but like Tennyson's brook, and unlike partnerships, it goes on forever. Further the individuals composing it are not held liable for the corporation's debts. All an individual has

to do is to contribute to the capital stock and receive a stock certificate in return. This he can stick in a drawer, transfer to his children or others, or sell it, as he may choose. The stock certificate establishes his interest in the corporation, fixes his liability and gives him wealth without work, that is, if the magnates in control of the corporation do not "do" him out of his stock by divers crooked ways. The corporation was first formed in this country about 1850.

In the formation of big corporations many small stock companies are consolidated and the money required for their development is obtained by raising mortgages on the property, in addition to issuing shares. If the corporation is an entirely new one the mortgages are given, in the form of bonds, on the property that is to be created. This method enables the promoters of corporations to create capital beyond the actual value of the property and pocket millions without giving any return. In recent years most of the bonds and stocks of corporations have been sold to banks. Consequently we see great financiers and capitalists like Morgan and Rockefeller, obtaining control of and consolidating powerful financial and banking institutions, so much so, that the consolidation movement has become a financial movement headed by organized financiers.

After the corporation was formed, the trust, as specifically defined above, was formed in this country. The first trusts, strictly and technically speaking, were the Sugar and the Standard Oil Trusts. In other capitalist countries, the agreement and the combine preceded the trusts; in this, as already shown, they followed them. The adoption of any of these forms of trusts are determined largely by legal or economic considerations. The first consolidation—that of the so-called steel trust—was also formed in this country. The consolidation is the highest form of "single corporate units."

Since the formation of consolidations there has arisen a consolidation of consolidations, a trust of trusts, formed by agreements existing between the interested "single corporate units" and guided by the financial interests of the country, such as the agreement existing between the steel trust, the railroads and the shipping trust.

The legal and financial growth of corporations as here outlined was made necessary by economic development. When industry was transferred from the home and concentrated in the factory, the application of machinery, ever changing and increasing in size, value and output, necessitated the extension of plants and the expansion of markets, all of them requiring ever larger capital.

This application of machinery was primarily forced by competition. Every manufacturer was compelled to produce cheaper than his competitor in order to undersell him. Often production was excessive and led to bankruptcy and the reorganization of industry. In order to avoid the ruin of competition, combinations were entered into, first by means of partnerships and then through the various other forms of industrial ownership up to the trusts and their combination with other trusts; for the lowering of exchange value and the underselling of competitors were only possible by means of the large capital thus secured. Men of large fortune did not care to risk their entire wealth in such undertakings; besides it is more profitable to induce others to invest their money in them and then fleece them. The result was stock corporations and speculation, the latter an operation by which, according to Frederick Engels, several capitalists take away one another's wealth; an operation which is not diminished by the fact that banks now finance corporations more than individuals.

Were it not for the evolution of industry thus forced by invention and competition, small capital in the factory would still suffice, and the concentration of capital in the hands of organized financiers, would not have been imperative. At it is, it cannot be undone without wrecking society. The evolution must continue to still higher forms, i. e., those of Socialism.

The Operation of Trusts.

The trust movement is a financial movement. It is headed by men "who," to quote the Socialist Almanac, "make no distinction between industries, have no preference for one or the other, and view all commodities in the light of their exchange value" expressed in money, leaving to technical men in their employ all technical considerations of the manufacturing and commercial order as to their respective use-value." Owing to this fact the capitalists have ceased to exercise the function of superintendence and have merely become stockholders. They have also ceased to be divided as the owners of divergent industries as formerly, and are now simply the owners of industry. This will explain why Rockefeller can be prominently identified with such divergent industries as oil producing, hotel keeping and medicine making, while playing golf to get rid of his dyspepsia.

This condition of affairs prevails because the trust is social in operation as well as in its formation. With the de-

velopment of machinery, the original implements of labor, which were extremely simple and capable of individual control and superintendence have grown to such proportions and to such extensive interrelations with one another, that no one person can handle them. Hundreds and thousands, nay, millions of workers are required to operate them. Consider the steel trust for a moment, in order to realize the force of this fact. In 1902 Chas. M. Schwab, President of the Steel Trust, said it employed 600,000 men, in its mills and mines, and on board of its trains and steamers, in all its ramifications. These men are directed by executive committees and technical corps recruited from their own midst and act together in their varying capacities in direct co-operation. All the work is departmentized and specialized, each man performing certain work exclusively, for which he is responsible to a gang boss, he to a foreman, he to a superintendent, he to a general manager, he to the president of the company having the department in charge, and he in turn to the executive committee of the trust. As for the executive head of the Steel Trust, its President, Chas. M. Schwab, while it may appear that he has the greatest responsibility, he really has the least. When the movement for his removal was on foot in the summer of 1902 the Evening Post, of New York City, said: "A change in the presidency of the United States Steel Corporation may easily be given more importance by the public than it really deserves. As head merely of the Carnegie plant, Mr. Schwab may have seemed indispensable. But the work of minute management and control seems impossible for any single man when so many and such vast properties are consolidated as we see now united in the Steel Trust; and Mr. Schwab must have long since turned over the larger part of this to competent subordinates. His real duties have been those of what has been called a 'financial statesman,' and, as such the general verdict is probably not far wrong in considering him not highly successful."

An English visitor to this country, John Foster, writing in the Nineteenth Century, shows the character of most of these "competent subordinates" in the following language: "Time and time again, as I have gone through the workshops of the United States, I have been almost staggered at the mere boys who are managers and heads of departments. It is not unusual to find a man of twenty-four having the control of several thousand men. And the fact that a man is young and unmarried is no reason, in the employer's mind, why he should receive a comparatively small salary. The question of how cheap you can get such men is not considered. No price is too big to give a lad who has brains and adaptiveness. It is recognized that by paying him well, appreciating him, you fire his enthusiasm." The same writer also points out how the technical genius of the race is being utilized by the "financial statesmen," i. e., the financiers at the head of the trust movement, regardless of its origin. Says he "many inventions in active use in America today are the creation of Englishmen which no manufacturer in England thought well to take up. But it was the American who grasped the thing, who altered, adapted and improved the invention and made it invaluable." As every establishment of note in this country has a technical staff of its own, the improvement and adaptation of foreign inventions by them, for the benefit of the financiers, is quite easy; and a proof of the splendid industrial operation of the trust by employed labor.

Further this writer shows that the American "financial gentlemen" rely upon their workmen to make improvements, though he states the facts amid capitalist platitudes that have been proven to be falsities. Says he: "The workman knows that if he strikes an improvement it is going to be a good thing for him personally. If he thinks of some alteration whereby he can turn out twice as much he knows the employer won't expect him to turn out twice as much at the same pay." How about John Bryllyn, who invented the rolling mill table, worth millions, and was defrauded out of it by the Carnegie Company, and is now living in poverty?

Again, this writer gives us still another glimpse of the social operation of trusts in these words: "Go into the Westinghouse works in East Pittsburgh and you will see a thousand girls engaged in making delicate electric appliances. Go into any of the big shoe manufacturing in Brockton or Lynn, and again you will see thousands of girls." Commercially the trusts are developed largely by government agencies, by means of the consular system, the increase of the army and navy and the territorial expansion of the nation. These involve bloody wars abroad and the creation of militarism at home, to both of which the working class gives its best blood and from both of which it realizes naught but suffering and oppression.

The foregoing facts plainly show that the operation of the trusts, like their formation is social and that the capitalist class—"the financial statesmen"—delegate their former functions of superintendence to "Competent subordinates;" while they are merely stockholders who live a parasitic existence, exploiting social labor through their ownership of the capital of the country. This is an anachronism that must be abolished. It can only be abolished by making capital social in ownership also, that is, by abolishing the capitalist class and inaugurating Socialism.

Effects of the Trust on the Middle and Working Class.

The trusts by creating a small plutocratic class—the "financial statesmen"—on the one hand, and a large working class—the "competent subordinates"—on the other, are accentuating class divisions. The trusts are wiping out the middle class and increasing the dependence of the working class. The trusts have decreased wages, increased the cost of living and the employment of women and children, while at the same time intensifying labor. Under their regime, strikes and labor troubles have increased in magnitude and number; and crises have raged with great violence in Germany and England. This country, it is predicted, will also suffer from a crisis in the near future, one that, it is declared, will be unparalleled in the history of panics.

That the trusts are wiping out the middle class is denied. It is pointed out that the census of 1900 shows an increase of 512,726 manufacturing establishments, or 44.3 per cent. from 1890 to 1900. The multiplication of establishments is not a sign of middle class growth. Considering that, as in the case of the tobacco industry, for instance, competing plants are being established by the tobacco trust to crush its competitors, the multiplication of establishments is a sign of capitalist growth. This fact is confirmed in a variety of other ways. The New York Commercial, referring to the growth of small corporations, points out that a large number of them are formed by men who have sold out their interests to the trusts and embarked with the capital thus secured in new enterprises. Again the same paper is authority for the statement that small corporations are organized by large ones for the purpose of exploiting some new side line or invention. In these days, when new uses are being discovered for industrial by-products, and railroads are developing mines and other properties contiguous to theirs, and corporations are extending their field of operations in a variety of directions, the formation of corporations in this manner is very great. Aside from the creation of small corporations by large ones, the creation of new corporations by old corporate interests, is also notable. For instance the cotton mills of the South are owned by northern textile interests; so are southern iron and coal owned by northern iron and coal interests. In the West, lead, zinc, copper, silver, gold and other industries are being exploited by corporations backed by the Rockefeller, Guggenheim, Whitney-Ryan-Gould and other syndicates. In the Southwest—in Texas—oil regions are being exploited—new corporations and establishments created—by the Standard Oil Company. In the Southwest and Northwest, irrigation and farming companies, and all that appertains thereto, are being created by railroad companies. So it goes all over the capitalist world. Few new capitalists are made by this process, while the old ones grow ever greater.

Now, when it is said that the capitalist class is wiping out the middle class, it does not necessarily follow that the contention is made that middle-class stores and shops are decreasing; on the contrary, they may increase in number; but they do not increase under the same conditions that formerly made for independent proprietorship. The middle class is now almost body and soul in the control of the capitalist class and powerless to resist its exactions or invasions. The butchers of the country are in the power of the Beef Trust, the tobacco men are in the grasp of the tobacco trust; dry goods dealers look to Clafin; saloonkeepers are appendages to the brewers' trust; delicatessen stores originate with the men who make the fifty-seven varieties; the sweat shops are capitalized by the manufacturers, and so on.

Again the trust capitalists control the sources of supply and the methods of distribution; so that if a man has capital he cannot compete with them, for he is unable to get raw material or obtain an outlet for his goods. He is crushed. The steel and tobacco trusts are good illustrations of this fact. Finally, since industry has become a matter controlled by "financial statesmen," the origin of new industries becomes more and more dependent on conditions only within their control. During the second week of April it was announced that owing to the financial stringency, the banks refuse to finance any more consolidations or corporations. In this the power of trusted capital is shown, for who will say that the middle class will successfully rush in, with its puny capital, where large capital dare not tread?

These facts show that the middle class is being wiped out as an independent economic factor and that the working class is consequently an increasingly dependent class. One time it could escape from wage-slavery into capitalism; but that time is fast disappearing. Where the wage-earner was once the exception he is now the rule; and his numbers are being increased by middle class recruits.

That wages have decreased and the cost of living increased, the following facts and figures will demonstrate: The total amount of wages paid in 1890 was \$1,891,228,321, and in 1900 it was \$2,330,273,021, showing an increase of \$439,044,700, or 23.2 per cent. The number of laborers among whom this was divided was in 1890, 4,251,613, and in 1900, 5,321,087, showing an increase of 1,069,474, or 25.2 per cent. Thus wages actually declined 2 per cent. But this is not all. In 1900, the product of each worker was valued at \$2450; in 1890, \$2200, or a difference of nearly 10 per cent. In other words, the wage worker got 2 per cent. less in 1900 for producing 10 per cent. more than he did in 1890.

John W. Foster, the English visitor already quoted, found that "in all work not actually physical—that is, in work that is clerical, administrative and supervisory—the wage has decreased." He also says: "The tendency within the next decade will be to pay lower wages in America for mere physical labor."

As for the cost of living, Dunn's Index of Prices, for June 1, 1900, showed an increase of 2 per cent. over the prices of January 1, 1900. Since 1900, matters have grown worse, as every workman who eats meat and burns coal knows. Dunn's Index of Prices showed an increase of 62 per cent. in prices between January 1, 1900, and January 1, 1902. Wages go down, while prices go up.

Despite these figures, we hear it said that the working class is more prosperous now than ever and that it is increasing the bank deposits of the country. In the matter of bank deposits it may be well to quote Frank Vanderlip, Ex-Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

After showing that between the years 1896 to 1892 "the credits represented by individual deposits in banks of all kinds have increased roughly \$4,000,000,000," he asks: "What has brought about this remarkable development of bank credit? The answer must at once come to the mind of any observer of finance, that the principal reason for the expansion of deposits and the accompanying expansion of loans is to be found in the great movement which has been the significant feature in financial affairs of the last half-dozen years—the movement to aggregate industrial establishments into single great corporate units, and to convert the evidence of ownership into corporate securities which have entered actively into the stream of financial operations. Vast amounts of new securities have been created in these half-dozen years, based in large measure upon properties which were before held as fixed investments by individuals, or if standing in the form of corporate property the securities of those corporations were more closely held, and in but small measure entered into the financial operations of the day. This movement—tending to convert the evidence of ownership of a great amount of fixed property into a form which has been considered a bank collateral, and which has been made the basis of loans and of corresponding increases of deposits—is undoubtedly the most important single cause for this increase of more than \$4,000,000,000, in bank deposits and bank loans of the country in the space of three or four years."

Thus it will be seen that the bank deposits are mainly those of trust-owners.

As for the employment of women and children, the census of 1900 gives the increase in the number of men working in manufacturing pursuits at 23.9 per cent.; of women, 28 per cent.; and of children, 39 per cent. The number of women in factories is 1,031,747; of children, 168,624. The employment of women and children has given rise to "race suicide" theories, and child labor agitators, the displacement of adult labor, increase of insanity among women, and other acute industrial phenomena. It is due to the perfection of machinery. As Foster, our much-quoted English visitor puts it: "With almost everything done by machinery there is no need of skilled artisanship." "Cheap labor, that is, in comparison to what he would have to pay were his workmen skilled artisans," is accordingly employed by the trust magnate. And women and children are, under the circumstances, the cheapest kind of labor.

The intensification of labor is reflected in the preference given to youth in factories, in the creation of emergency hospitals in connection with large industrial plants, in the greater output of American industry, and in the increase of accidents. The figures of the last-named phase of intensification are especially appalling. The Insurance Press—an insurance authority—states that the census returns for 1900 indicate that the proportion of deaths from accidental causes is increasing. In 1900 the proportion in 1000 deaths was 57.6. In

1890 the corresponding proportion was 53.7, an increase of nearly four deaths per thousand. The total number of accidental deaths in 1900 was 57,513. Of this number 27,049 were contributed by the industrial States of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont and the District of Columbia. The reports of the authorities of Allegheny County, Pa.—in which is located the city of Pittsburgh, the center of the steel and other great trusts—show that 2000 persons met violent death there during 1901, mainly as a result of furnace explosions, converter breakdowns and other mill and factory disasters. The board of coroners for the Borough of Manhattan, Greater New York, in its annual report for 1902, gives the number of deaths from accidental violence as 1903. The report calls attention to the large number of appalling disasters in which numbers of lives were lost. These disasters occurred on the subway, skyscrapers, in railroad tunnels, etc., etc.

These accidental deaths are mainly traceable to the strenuous speed and strain at which capitalism drives the workers under the trust regime.

The increase of strikes and labor troubles is shown in the statistics of strikes. From 1880 to December 31, 1900, the number of strikes was 22,793. The smallest number, 610, occurred in 1880, while the largest number, 1797, occurred in 1890. The next census of strikes will show a great increase, as they are now rampant all over the country. They do not, as formerly, involve one or two plants, but hundreds, extending in many cases, into different cities and states, embracing armies of employees, as in the steel workers' strikes, the miners' and the bridge builders' strikes. The use of the injunction also supports our contention. There are no figures at hand, but daily experience shows that there is an increase. Boards of conciliation and arbitration also have more to do, while in all directions the crack of the militia's rifle and the whack of the policeman's club is heard, giving proof that the antagonism between capital and labor increases rather than diminishes under the trust form of industry.

The trust method of overcapitalization and of selling dear at home in order to sell cheap abroad, so that the world's markets may be captured, has resulted in an increase in labor and the cost of living that the working class are seeking to equalize by demanding higher wages. Thus it is that strikes and labor troubles increase.

In the matter of crises, those of Germany and England are fresh to mind. It was but recently that statistics were printed in the capitalist press showing the decline of trade and the number of unemployed in those countries. Harrowing tales were told of the distress of the unemployed working class in both countries, while capitalist morals were drawn on the results of overcapitalization and wars to promote territorial expansion. Now it is predicted that the United States will soon have to face the same condition of affairs, only on a far greater scale.

The trust regime in industry has accentuated all the former evils of capitalism, driving the workers into greater dependence, greater suffering, and greater revolt. It must be replaced by a better and more humane system, a system in which the benefits of consolidation will redound to the millions who operate the trusts and not to the few who own and control them.

The Remedy for Trusts.

Trusts have many opponents. Their effects create loud demands for a remedy. To these demands many answers are given: It is said that trusts have run their course and that consolidation is ended. Disintegration by the process of law and competition is urged. Finally, it is claimed the trust is but a passing phase of industrial development that will soon disappear.

The belief that consolidation has run its course is absurd. The unification of industry is far from ended. Who will say that trust will not consolidate with trust, under the auspices of the capitalist financiers, as corporation consolidation with corporation? In retail distribution and agriculture there is still much to be directly done. A beginning has well been made in the chain-of-stores system and the corporation farms; but direct consolidation, such as prevails in manufacture, transportation and banking, is still in its infancy.

Disintegration by law and competition is equally nonsensical. Trusts, as was shown in the consideration of their formation, owe their origin to legal and competitive causes. It is a fact that trusts have thrived despite the increase of laws meant to curb their growth. The reason is not far to seek. Trusts are primarily caused by the changes in the tools of production and distribution—the economic conditions—that form the basis of society. Law is only the reflex, not the creator of those economic conditions. The trusts are outliving and outstripping the middle-class conditions in which the anti-trust laws enacted, hence their triumph. Competition with trusts is only possible on a trust scale. It requires a capitalization that is tre-

Continued on page 6.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,584
In 1900.....	34,191
IN 1902.....	53,617

THE S. L. P. MAN.

The emphasis of editorial space is the need of the following correspondence received at this office:

Butte, Mont., April 14, 1903.
To The Daily and Weekly People—A number of the members of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party here are getting tired of the rot dished out by the freaks of that organization. Some Socialist Labor Party men have made them admit in public that the so-called Socialist party got \$1500 in the Fall of 1900 from the Standard Oil Company, or Anaconda Copper Mining Company, to help carry on their campaign.

Mills was here and explained why they took it; but said that they never would take money again from the capitalists.

They elected an Alderman here this spring. We will watch him and his friends in Anaconda to see if they appropriate any money for armories.

We are working for The Monthly People, and expect to send more soon.

Fraternally,
P. J. Dwyer.

It is not agitation only, and of the right kind; it is not education only, and of the right kind; nor yet is it organization only, even of the rightest kind, upon which, at certain critical periods in the history of man, depends the course of events. The fate of great historic movements, big with progress, ever and anon trembles in the scales. Not all the agitation, not all the education, nor yet all the organization, put in, in their behalf, entirely suffices to carry them through. Such work is useful, it is necessary, it is indispensable—but it is not enough. A time comes when something more is wanted. That something, that determines the course of events, is MAN—the man of firmness, the man of determination, the man who becomes the incarnation of the solid foundations, of the vigor and the aspirations of a Movement—undeterred, unshakable, whatever the volume and the force of opposition may be that beat against and threaten to overwhelm him. Such was Mirabeau in the French Revolution; such was Hampden in England before him; such was Pelayo in Spain many centuries earlier; such were Sucre and Patrick Henry on the North and South American continents. Each in his turn stood up as a bulwark of the Future,—and the flood against that which they stood for receded in impotence.

It is just so to-day with the Socialist Movement in America, as the letter of the above-cited Comrade demonstrates. In Maine, in Massachusetts, in Rhode Island and Connecticut; in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Michigan; in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin and Minnesota; and clear across the continent to the Pacific States, and down to the Gulf State of Texas,—everywhere the sturdy S. L. P. man is found, a dike in his locality against the waves of usurpation and reaction, a fort against the predatory hands of impostorship, a rallying point for the Revolution.

That wireless telegraphy that speeds along the currents of nobility of aspirations, grounded on soundness and oneness of purpose, flashes the thrill from Butte, Mont., to the citadels of the S. L. P. throughout the length and breadth of the land; and from these it is flashed back to North-West,—
"We are each at our posts!"

Brand new labor parties galore are forming all over the country. News comes of the formation of the "United Protective League of Labor," with headquarters in Washington, D. C.; of the "Socialist Labor League," with headquarters in a pill and corn-cure emporium in Newark, N. J.; and of the "T. N. E. C.," whose mystical initials probably stand for the "Only Possible Logical Center," with headquarters in a rigorous imagination in Allegheny county, Pa.—yet it is said that the working men are doing a splendid

THE WHY OF THE WHEREFORE.

All conditions have their organized form, and all organized forms have their visible and audible exponent. Mr. David M. Parry is the visible and audible exponent of the organized form—the National Association of Manufacturers—that the condition of the non-plutocratically operated manufactures of the land has taken shape in. What Mr. Parry says is, accordingly, typical of that which he typifies.

In the course of capitalist evolution, the individual holders of capital do not move in even step. A thousand and one things tend to impart to each a different rate of velocity. It thus happens that, after a time, the aspect these holders of capital present is very much like that of a race course: the competitors, after starting abreast of one another, are strung along the line, with large stretches of daylight between the one and the other, the foremost and the hindmost. In this course, the one-time capitalist set breaks up into sub-sets. The foremost touches on plutocracy, the hindmost drops to the ragged edge of middle class existence; and between these two extremes, there are all shades. The National Association of Manufacturers is made up of the latter elements: while they have succeeded in preserving their capitalist feature, they have been distanced in the race toward the plutocratic goal.

It goes without saying that a serious conflict immediately breaks out between the two sets, the "distanced" and the "distancers"—between the element, on the one hand, whose organized form finds its expression in a National Association of Manufacturers, with a David M. Parry as its visible exponent, and the element, whose organized form finds its expression in a Civic Federation, with an Hon. Marcus Aurelius Hanna as its head and spokesman, on the other. It, furthermore, goes without saying that, in this conflict, the Gompers-Mitchell, or pure and simple form of trades unionism is captured by the "distancers" and is operated by them against the "distanced." As a structure, based on the theory of "harmony between employer and employee," the posture of the Gompers-Mitchell trades union is that of the beggar; it must solicit favors. Beggars ever turn to the richest looking. Whether raised in a Spanish-speaking country or not, they instinctively act obedient to the deep philosophy of the Spanish proverb: "Him who leans against a good tree, a good shade shelters." As a result of both their own instincts and the action of the plutocratic, Civic Federation, element, the Gompers-Mitchell trades union becomes a weapon of warfare in the hands of the "distancers." The weapon is plied, of course, on the heads and shins, the backs and noses of the "distanced." Being the visible type of these, Mr. Parry receives these blows on his vicarious head and shin; and his vicarious back and nose bleed. What else must be expected but that he should cry out, and become audible? He does and did, and this is what he ejaculated:

"There must be something radically wrong in the position of organized labor (pure and simple or Gompers-Mitchell unionism) when 600 American manufacturers get together and adopt resolutions as were indorsed in New Orleans."

By that one utterance, Mr. Parry vindicated his type-qualities of the element that he speaks (and feels?) for. That element—the element of the "distanced" in the race of capitalists—never realize that the "something" that is "wrong" is with themselves. Fain would they, but they can't.—THEY ARE UNFIT.

THE TROUBLE IN "THE LABOR UTOPIA."

In Dayton, Ohio, there is situated a cash register manufactory that is known far and wide as "The Labor Utopia."

It is a model factory, where workers' betterment schemes are in vogue, and an attempt is being made to make capital and labor work together in harmony.

Events are now transpiring that show that the place is well-named. Labor troubles, threatening a strike of the 5000 employees and necessitating hurried official action, have arisen. What is the matter? Why this discord where all is purposely planned in the interest of peace? Let the news despatch tell the tale:

"President Patterson is weary of the labor troubles and threatens to close the plant and move to Europe to live unless some assurance is given that the company will have no more difficulty with the men. General Manager Chalmers quoted President Patterson as saying he was not running the plant to make money, but with the intention of mak-

ing it the model factory of the world—a place where capital and labor might work together in perfect harmony—and if he thought he could not accomplish this he would 'go abroad and live rather than worry himself with constant turmoil with employees.'"

In those words one sees the secret of the trouble in "The Labor Utopia." They are the words of a man who regards his employees as his inferiors, to be subdued by threats that his superior economic condition can enforce to their disadvantage—they are the words of a master to his slaves. As such they show that harmony between capital and labor is only possible when labor has reached the coolies' stage and is no longer capable of resistance.

The labor utopias are bound to be utopias. They attempt to harmonize a dominant and a dependent—a fleeing and a fleeing—class, between whom there are no mutual interests; and, between whom, because of other antagonistic relations, such interests can never exist, as long as a spark of manhood and womanhood exists in the breasts of the working class. And this is a true of Europe, as it is of this country. The paternalistic Patterson may fly to Europe, but he will find, as did Herr Krupp, that even there labor utopias cannot escape the disastrous workings of the laws underlying the class struggle.

WE TOLD YOU SO!

Before us lies, spread out in all the glory of Gothic type and rotundity of the German sentence, a paper, for which, it must be confessed, we have a soft spot in our heart,—the Milwaukee, Wis., "Wahrheit." It is a Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party paper. That, certainly, is not to its, or anybody else's credit. But in justice it must be mentioned that it is the only paper of its party that actually gaged at political bed-fellowship with the rotten crew that runs the "Volkszeitung." Now this "Wahrheit," with date of the 18th instant has this to say on the Socialist Labor Party:

"It is obvious that the S. L. P. has a negative mission to fill, especially in the trades union movement. . . . Where these unclean elements are still dominant in the trades union movement, the S. L. P. can be positively useful."

Stick a pin there.

Now, there are other things also obvious. Among these is the fact that the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party has hitherto claimed for itself the job of exterminating these "unclean elements" in the Unions. Indeed, wherever a member of that party could be got to drop balderdash and blackguardism, and to decently state the difference between his party and the S. L. P., the point was always made that, while the S. L. P. is of the opinion that the unclean elements who dominate the Unions cannot be downed except by "boring from without," the S. P. holds that the downing can not be achieved except by "boring from within." The S. L. P., accordingly, was pronounced harmful and useless. And now comes an S. P. paper and recognizes that the S. L. P. policy is "positively useful." The point is yielded; and in yielding it a valuable admission is made. It is this:

"We have tried it, and failed. 'Boring from within' is pie for the 'unclean elements.' The only way to war upon them is 'from without.' Our 'boring from within' has proved an egregious failure."

We told you so! The devil can not be fought by voluntarily paying dues to him, or by placing oneself where he can be hit by the devil. We told you so!

AND YET ANOTHER "DAILY PEOPLE LIE!"

A comrade from Houston, Texas, writes to inquire whether there is "any pique at headquarters, against Texas." His complaint is, as he puts it, that—

"I sent you several months ago a local gem of a 'Daily People Lie.' It never was published. Can it be that you are down on Texas, and don't want her to contribute her share to the demonstration of the inter-State corruption of the so-called Socialist party?"

Of course, the comrade jokes. His item was not published at the time, simply because it did not come accompanied with the official documents, without which, THE PEOPLE does not take cognizance of such matters. Now that the comrade forwards the necessary documents, the gem—it is a gem; it steps abreast, even ahead, of the Bogus Socialist Morris Eichman's performance; could more be said?—is entered on the rolls, with joy.

In Harris county, Texas, there is a politician, E. H. Vasner by name. The Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic, Morris Eichman of West Hoboken, N. J., ran simultaneously on the ticket of the so-called Socialist party and on those of the Democratic, the Republican and the "Citizens' party." As an illustration of how his party fights all the parties of the capitalist class, he ran on the tickets of all, with the knowledge, consent, and approval of his "Socialist" organization. The Houston, Harris Co., Tex., gentleman does as much,—almost better. He runs for office on the anti-silver and pro-gold Republican ticket, on the anti-gold and pro-silver Democratic ticket, on the anti-Republican and anti-Democratic Populist ticket, and, for good measure, on the "anti-Republican, anti-Democratic and anti-Populist," so-called Socialist ticket. Accordingly, he runs simultaneously on the pro-Trust capitalist, the anti-Trust capitalist, the anti-Trust middle class and the (presumably?) national-Trust workingman's party tickets!

Give the devil his due. The Social Democratic, alias Socialist party, is not, as some wicked people claim, "a different thing in different places." It is one and the same in New Jersey and California; in Texas and Illinois or Ohio; in Massachusetts and Colorado; in Washington state and New York,—CORRUPT. Neither the East nor the West; neither the North nor the South; nor yet the Center holds the monopoly. Everywhere, the Social Democratic party presents the same aspect, "Millerandism,"—CORRUPTION.

[The documents on this Harris Co., Tex., "Daily People Lie" are in this office for inspection. No forgeries, either.]

BACK-PARLOR CONVENTIONS.

It will be none the fault of the two or three score property magnates—possibly the five score—who manoeuvre the political ship of the nation, if the trick by which they manage always to come out on top escapes detection. Their manoeuvres at this season, preparatory to the Presidential campaign, are almost transparent.

The innocent believe that there are political conflicts at the recurring elections, especially the Presidential. And they take sides; and grow enthusiastic or violent; and await the result with bated breath. Indeed, appearances help the deception. It is certain that the candidates themselves generally take themselves seriously; they go deep into their pockets; and in all earnestness fight their adversaries. Sticking to Presidential contests, there is only one instance since 1872—the exception being the Presidential campaign of 1896—when the nominees of the two great parties were not both dictated by the same set of men,—the two, three or five score property magnates above referred to. They look over the field. "If 'all's clear' they nominate two candidates, one for each party, that are both acceptable. And then this set is through; they go off to their own pleasure haunts, and let "the voters entertain themselves." If "all's not clear," then these back-parlor conventions have a harder time of it, and the "delegates," individually, after the "conventions." In such cases they must determine, first, upon a safe man; secondly upon a stool-pigeon; and they have to determine which party shall take the stool-pigeon, and which the safe man. That being done, they have to postpone going to their pleasure haunts. They know that they are dealing with universal suffrage. They act accordingly. They then take a hand in the campaign. They must make large appropriations, and exert their skill in manoeuvring: their lieutenants and sub-lieutenants have to be directed and watched over,—all in the interest of the safe candidate, who, of course, is elected.

Whenever violence is done in an industrial conflict it is always attributed to "the wild and turbulent foreigners, whose oppression under monarchy has deprived them of the ability to appreciate the law-abiding methods pursued by the native born in their attempts to rectify injustice," etc., etc. The native born are crowned as the exponents of "law and order," and all the virtues that uphold the capitalist system. Are the native born all they are said to be? Let the following, from a portion of the country where foreign influence is particularly unknown, answer the question:

"New Orleans, April 19.—The Lamourie dam on Bayou Lamourie, near Alexandria, was blown up last night by farmers living in the neighborhood. Four kegs of powder were used and the dam was completely wrecked. The dam was built on Bayou Lamourie by the Red River and Bayou Levee Board, at the request of the people living on the bayou below who were subject to floods and freshets. This year the phenomenal rains have caused the flooding of the land above the dam. The people thus injured credited the overflow to the dam rather than to the true cause—the rains."

The sentiment expressed by the counsel of the Reading Railroad Company that the people of New York after getting their coal for nothing for twenty-five years, "Whine like a lot of whipped curs when a decent remunerative price is asked by the miners," is remarkable as the latest manifestation of the contempt in which the plutocrats of the country holds its inhabitants. It is on a par with Vanderbilt's famous "the public be damned." What is more natural than that such contempt should exist? Here are millions of presumably intelligent men and women who relegate the ownership and control of great fuel supplies to the exploitation of a few individuals and are foolish enough to believe that such conduct redounds to their benefit, experience to the contrary notwithstanding. Who would not feel contempt for such men and women, if they profited by the actions?

The Omaha conflict between employer and employee increases in intensity. Union men are resigning from the militia and employers have taken the aggressive. They would be more successful if they would take a few lessons in the Hanna art of defeating labor with the collaboration of the labor fakirs, a la Gompers and the Civic Federation.

The President is astounded at the immense number of wild animals that Yellowstone Park shelters. He ought to know—the park sheltered him a couple of weeks.

The Declaration of Independence is said to be fading and will soon be no more. Why, many workmen are of the opinion that it has been defunct many years and needs to be written anew.

HANNA CLUCKING.

Like a good, sensible, kind-hearted hen, when kites threaten her chicks, hen Hanna, his chicks being insulted by Mr. Parry of the American Association of Manufacturers, clucked a series of clucks as the guest of honor at the banquet tendered in Columbus, O., on the 21st instant to the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and cuddled his chicks warmly under his downy wings. This was as it should be. Every link in the performance—from Parry's denunciation to Hanna's words of comfort—was logical.

But Hanna, besides being a kind hen, is a wise hen. His apology for and even justification of his chicks, might set bees a-buzzing in their bonnets. The danger of this Hanna knows but too well. Accordingly he felt it incumbent upon himself to administer to them a mental hypodermic injection to keep them where he wants. It was clucked in these words:

"Many of the great captains of industry to-day, men who are at the head of very many of our great industrial concerns all over this country, worked at the bench, at the puddling furnace, at the loom, in the mines and factories. They did not seize anybody's money. They earned it by their intelligence and experience. The workmen of fifty years ago, who are still alive, many of them, are the employers of to-day."

Kings also "rise from the ranks"; and among their Lords and Ladies, not a few were raised from the dirt into the "nobility," with the King's aid. These are facts. Say, then, that one of these Kings, facing a collection of his vassals, some of whom have noses slit, others hanged, others ears cropped—slit, chopped off and cropped for "lese majeste"—were to address them as follows:

"Many of the Kings, of to-day, men who are at the head of very many great nations all over the world, worked one time in the trenches, at the guns, in the camp, and in the foraging departments of the army. They did not seize anybody's crown. They earned it by bravery and boldness. The common soldiers of fifty or a hundred years ago, who are still alive, many of them, are barons, dukes and marquises to-day."

Would not such a King be telling an actual truth, and yet suggesting an actual falsehood? The King "rises from the ranks"—too true! A fact he does not always like to admit, being rather inclined to have himself, "considered as descended from heaven, hence inviolate, just as happens with our Hanna capitalists. But once a King, there can be none other beside him in that country (industry): the chance of all others to the distinction is in direct ratio with his chances of being cashed in. And so with his barons, dukes and marquises: a vacancy must precede, or be created, for the elevation of "new men." Exactly the same with the "Captains of Industry," and their "nobility" the "employers."

It was the veriest mental hypodermic injection that hen Hanna clucked to his assembled chicks, when he held out to them—wage-slaves—the luring prospect of a Captainship of Industry. In the olden days in the South the "white trash" used be narcotized into enthusiasm for negro chattel slavery with the lure that, some day, some how, they might, could, would or possibly should be slave holders themselves. It would be interesting to learn how many of hen Hanna's chickens at the banquet succumbed to the narcotic.

In the meantime kite Parry and hen Hanna are plucking each others feathers.

During the coal strike arbitration hearing testimony was given to the effect that while some of the operators built company hospitals for their employees, they also submitted them to the most galling exactions. Krupp's old age insurance has been shown to have been a species of refined swindle, being paid for by the men themselves at an expense greater, far greater, than that expended in return on them. In numerous other cases capitalist philanthropy has been exposed as a means to intensify the capitalist exploitation. In addition, its paternalistic qualities have rendered it oppressive and degrading.

The above facts were called to mind by reading the following, which has all the ear marks of being an institution such as those described:

"Pueblo, Colo., April 25.—Dr. R. W. Corwin, of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, announced to-day that a new department would be added to the already extensive sociological features of the steel company. The company's old hospital building in this city will be remodelled and new buildings will be added for the purpose of starting an industrial school and cooperative factory. Aged employees of the company, those who have been injured in its service, as well as widows and orphans of employees, will be brought to this school and factory and be given an opportunity to earn a living, and the children will be taught useful trades.

"It will not be a charitable institution in any sense. Several instructors have been engaged, among them being Walter Morrill, of Boston, and Miss Mary Blatzberg, an expert weaver of Boston, who will take charge of the woman's department."



BROTHER JONATHAN—I know so many good-hearted men and women among the Socialists that, for their own sakes, I hope they will never live to see the victory of the party. That day must be a very sad day for them. They would find out how they miscalculated things; it would break their hearts.

UNCLE SAM—For instance?

B. J.—They overlook so many things. For instance, they overlook the scabs. Now, one little question punctures your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called.—What will you do with the scab, seeing there are so many of them?

U. S.—What—WE would DO—with the SCAB?

B. J.—Yes; what would you do with him?

U. S.—Do you know what a scab is?

B. J.—Course I do.

U. S.—Define the thing.

B. J.—A scab? Well, he is a man—Yes, a scab is—. Why, everybody knows, what a scab is. What's the use of defining him?

U. S.—Your difficulty in defining him shows the use of a definition. I'll help you out. A scab is a man who either has no work or very poor work, and is willing to take the place that another strikes against because that job, bad as it may be, is better than what he now gets.

B. J.—I'll accept that definition. It suits me exactly. What are you going to do with him in your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called?

U. S.—If you accept the definition you must accept all that flows from it.

B. J.—So I do.

U. S.—Then you must accept the conclusion that there is to-day virtually a condition of famine for many in the country.

B. J.—I'll grant that. There is not enough for all; if you fill some starving mouths you must take away from others, and—

U. S.—Expose THESE to starvation? B. J.—Just so; you would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, so to speak.

U. S.—You are going much too fast; but I'm glad I gave you rope, because you have now made clear to me what it really is that troubles you. When you say "scab" you don't mean that; what you have in mind is a different question. You think there is not wealth enough for all—

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—Do you think so from the presence of the scab, who, being ready, to take a poor job, shows he is starving?

B. J.—Now you got it.

U. S.—And you conclude that, being so, somebody MUST starve.

B. J.—Correct.

U. S.—Did you ever read about that \$2,000,000 outfit that old Leiter, of Chicago, bestowed on his daughter, the Vice-Reine of India, Lady Curzon?

B. J.—No! Did he?

U. S.—Yes; besides, her dower was about \$5,000,000.

B. J.—You don't say!

U. S.—And you evidently don't know that we of America are supporting about 200 other precious heiresses in royal style abroad?

B. J.—That's news to me.

U. S.—Is it also news to you that our Astors in America give \$200,000 balls? That our Pierreponts spend in luxuries several millions a year, and so forth?

B. J. (greatly surprised)—You make my head swim!

U. S.—Now, do you imagine that all these precious loafers would starve if 90 per cent of this wealth that Labor, and not they, produced were turned to the mouths now starving?

B. J. (recovering from his surprise)—No; they would not starve. But that don't alter the case. What would you do with these starvelings in your Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called?

U. S.—Well, to tell you what we would do with the scab in our "Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called," I shall first tell you something else that will also be brand new to you. What we Socialists are really after is not so much the wealth these capitalists consume, but the machinery of production that they have robbed society of. That machinery, of production (we call it "capital") is capable of producing an abundance for all. It does not do that to-day because the robber class of capitalists don't find their account in allowing it to do so. Stripped from this private ownership that prevents machinery from being as productive as it can, and no longer needing the hordes of unproductive hirelings that capitalism breeds, no one need starve. He who will work will have the enjoyment of the abundance he produces. Where will the "scab" be then? In our "Co-operative Commonwealth, so-called," there will be left only the word "scab" as a reminder of the dirty social system that we shall have overthrown.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New
Reads street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CAN-
ADA—National Secretary, C. A. West-
ael, 344 Thames street.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
2-6 New Reads street. (The Party's
literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party
announcements can go in that there are
not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Regular meeting held April 24, at 2-6
New Reads street. A. Klein in the
chair. The Recording Secretary being
still out of town, A. Gillhaus acted in
his stead. The financial report for the
two weeks ending April 18 showed re-
ceipts, \$53.55; expenditures, \$40.70.

Communications: From Section Law-
rence, Mass., relative to payment on its
pledge for Daily People Auxiliary
League. From Section Denver, Col., re-
porting expulsion of E. O. Cochrane for
violation of Art. 2, Sec. 6, of the consti-
tution. From San Francisco, Cal.,
relative to application for membership
at large. Under the rules, this was re-
ferred to California State Executive
Committee. From Section Allegheny
County, Pa., reporting local work. Sec-
tion Tacoma, Wash., reported suspen-
sion of J. M. Lee, for six months for
conduct unbecoming a member. From
several points were received copies of an
ambiguous circular, sent out from 10
Magazine street, Newark, N. J., and
signed "Roman R. Holler," wherein all
sorts of revelations are promised to such
as are not "lost souls." At the number
given is located a drug store kept by an
ex-member of Section Essex County, N. J.,
recently expelled by that section,
whose name is not "Holler."

It was resolved to extend the func-
tions of The Daily People Finance Com-
mittee recently elected by Section New
York and to authorize them to work
out a plan to finance The Daily Peo-
ple plant indebtedness as to take it out
of the hands of the present claimants
and place it, more widely distributed,
among adherents of the movement.

Section Los Angeles, Cal., reported ex-
pulsion of A. H. Boal for insubordina-
tion and contempt. Section Madison
County, Ill., reported expulsion of Kas-
per Swaps for violation of the prin-
ciple of solidarity and contempt.
A. Gillhaus, Rec. Sec'y, pro tem.

The New York State Executive.

A regular meeting of the New York
State Executive Committee was held in
The Daily People building, 2-6 New
Reads street, on April 20, at 8 p. m. All
members were present with the excep-
tion of Comrade George Abelson. Kuhn
in the chair. The minutes of the pre-
vious meeting were adopted as read.

The following new officers were elected:
Harvey A. Santee, Recording Secretary;
Henry Kuhn, Financial Secretary; A. C.
Kuhn, Treasurer.

Moved and seconded that the Treas-
urer be made custodian of the mileage
fund. Moved and seconded that the
State Committee appropriate a sum suf-
ficient to cover the balance due on its
\$455 Daily People pledge; ordered paid.
Also that the State Committee appro-
priate \$100 as a loan to The Daily Peo-
ple as soon as that amount is accumu-
lated.

A letter from Comrade George Abelson,
resigning from the State Committee
on account of inability to serve, was
read, and the Secretary was instructed
to call upon Section New York to make
nominations to fill the vacancy.

Communications from Rochester, Syra-
cuse, Lockport and Auburn were re-
ceived and read, and the Secretary was
instructed to reply to all and call at-
tention to the importance of out-door
meetings, etc.

Comrades Ebert and Kuhn were elected
as a committee to draft a circular letter
to sections throughout the State out-
lining plans for agitation.

Motion made and seconded to hold
the regular meetings on the second and
fourth Saturdays of each month.

Motion made and seconded that all
mail intended for the committee be ad-
dressed to Harvey A. Santee, 2-6 New
Reads street, New York City.

The financial report for the month of
March was as follows:

Receipts—	
Balance March 1.....	\$137.64
Dues stamps.....	32.08
Wallace and Lake fund.....	11.25
Campaign supplies.....	52.13
Total.....	\$233.10
Expenditures—	
Dues stamps.....	\$140.00
Printing.....	94.25
Postage and Sundries.....	2.77
Total.....	\$237.02
Balance.....	16.08
Total.....	\$253.10

Adjournment followed.

H. A. Santee.

May Day Celebration.

The readers of The People, and their
friends, are invited to be present at the
International Labor Day celebration, to
be held under the auspices of Section
Baltimore, Socialist Labor Party, at the
Labor Lyceum, 1011-1013 East Baltimore
street, on May 4 at 8 p. m. There will
be an entertainment and speechmaking,
followed by a ball.

Labels: Kuhn will be the speaker.
Committee, Section Baltimore.

Canadian N. E. C.

The regular meeting of the N. E. C.
of Canada was held on April 17, with
W. D. Forks in the chair.

The account of Levi Lazerus, of
Brantford, was ordered paid. Section
Brantford's letter was read, and the
Secretary instructed to reply. A letter
from Section Toronto requesting stamps
was read. A letter from P. Lighter was
laid over.

A communication from Section London
stating that it has a printing press and
is able to quote prices for printing was
read; secretary was instructed to ob-
tain prices from Section London.

The Secretary was empowered to pro-
cure a letter book.

The committee on leaflets reported
progress.

The leaflet, "Effects of Machinery on
the Working Class," was placed in the
hands of the committee to be corrected
and published.

Henry Wade,

Recording Secretary.

Section Boston, Attention!

Regular meeting of Section S. L. P.
will be held on Thursday, May 7, at 8
p. m., at 1105 Tremont street.

Matters of importance will come up for
action, nomination of candidates for the
State ticket, etc.

It is the duty of each comrade to at-
tend.

W. H. Carroll,

Secretary.

Boston Party Press Club.

All comrades of Section Boston who
are interested in the welfare of The
Daily People are hereby called upon to
attend the next meeting of the Press
Club of Section Boston, to be held on
Sunday, May 3, 10.30 a. m., 1165 Tre-
mont street.

Don't fail to do your duty.

F. Bohmbach, Literary Agent.

To Whom It May Concern.

Section Chicago, Socialist Labor Party,
will hold a nominating meeting on
May 2, at 7.30 p. m., to nominate a com-
plete judicial ticket for the June elec-
tions.

S. T. & L. A.-NEWS

District Alliance No. 49, S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of District Al-
liance No. 49 was held on Thursday
evening, April 16, with the district pre-
sident in the chair.

Roll-call of officers showed all present
except the district auditor. District
president reported that the sewer workers
and laborers of South Brooklyn were
organizing and would demand eight hours
on May 1; that a number of these men
were formerly members of the Soft
Ground Miners' Alliance, and it would
be well for the organization committee
to look after them. Action, organization
committee so instructed.

District secretary reported that he had
visited L. A.'s Nos. 390, 393, 170 and 141.
No. 390 had some trouble that would
require the district to take up and settle
at once. Action, matter of L. A. No. 390
referred to the district officers and the
organization committee, with instructions
to attend the next meeting of the local,
and the organizer of the local be in-
formed to notify all members to be present.

The special committee appointed to
see the manager in reference to a meeting
room submitted its report. Action, re-
port received and accepted.

Letter from the Thirty-fifth Assembly
District, S. L. P., preferring charges
against the district secretary for neglect
of duty, was taken up and both sides were
heard. Action, case dismissed.

L. A.'s Nos. 42, 140, 141, 170, 252, 1563
and 2394 reported progress. No. 390 re-
ported on the trouble in the local. No.
393 reported that they had voted to get
a handsome prize for the fair; each
member would do his best to sell tickets
for the same; that they would hold a
mass meeting on Friday, April 24; want
two speakers—English and German. Sec-
tion New York, S. L. P., reported that
they would hold a mass meeting at
Cooper Union on May 2, and Comrade
M. T. Berry, of Haverhill, Mass., would
be one of the speakers; also thought that
the district should arrange a meeting
and have Berry speak before he returned
to his home. Action, referred to the
organization committee.

The fair committee reported that
through a misunderstanding the hall had
been given to another party for May 3,
and we could only get the hall for May 2.
Action, the committee was instructed to
engage the hall for one night; the com-
mittee also requested that comrades and
sympathizers be requested to donate
prizes, and that a notice to that effect
be published in The Daily People.

The delegates of L. A.'s Nos. 349, 355
and 388 were requested to attend the
meetings of the district; if not, their
locals will be ordered to send others in
their places.

On motion the secretary was instructed
to get speakers for the mass meeting of
Independent Waiters' Union, L. A.
No. 393.

Boston Open Air Meetings.

Section Boston will hold open air
meetings on Boston Common, beginning
Sunday, May 3, at 4 p. m. Ninth tree
north of the centre Charles street Mall;
same place as last year.

Comrades and sympathizers are invited
to attend. For the Committee,

W. H. Carroll, Secretary.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT
NOTES

The circulation department, recently
inaugurated, is beginning to show results.
Last week 133 subscribers to the Weekly
were received, while for the previous
week the number was 124 and for the
week before 114. Last week 342 new
readers were secured for the Monthly, as
against 109 the week before.

Some of the sections have written us
saying that we have their hearty co-
operation in pushing the party press.
Most of them have plans of their own
which they have put into operation.
After a time the plan or method which
shows the best results will be set forth
in this column.

In Brooklyn some of the comrades are
making a house-to-house canvass, and the
result is shown in an increased per-
centage of readers from that part of the
city. Even if not successful in getting a
subscription at every house visited, they
are bringing a knowledge of the party
to many who had not before heard of it.
To those taking up such a canvass we
would suggest that a leaflet be left at
houses where readers cannot be secured.

We have some new prize offers to an-
nounce this week. A Colorado sym-
pathizer offers the following prizes to the
three persons sending in the largest num-
ber of subscribers to The Weekly People
between May 3 and June 14:

First Prize—Four books by Karl Marx,
three in cloth and one in paper, namely,
"Value, Price and Profit," "Wage-Labor
and Capital," "Paris Commune" and the
"Eighteenth Brumaire," or any other
Labor News publication to the amount
of \$1.75.

Second Prize—"Socialism, Utopian and
Scientific," by Engels, and "Paris Com-
mune," by Marx, or other Labor News
publications to the value of \$1.00.

Third Prize—"Paris Commune" and
"Eighteenth Brumaire," by Marx, or other
Labor News publications to the value
of 75 cents.

Only those subscriptions which reach
us between the above named dates will
count.

The offer of a copy of Lissagarry's
"History of the Commune" for ten paid-
up yearly subscribers sent in at one time
to the Weekly still holds good. This
week we make a new offer: For five
paid-up subscribers sent in at one time
we will give or mail, postpaid, the fol-
lowing pamphlets: "What Means This
Strike?" "Reform or Revolution?" "So-
cialism," "The Working Class," "The
Capitalist Class," "The Class Struggle"
and "The Socialist Republic." These
books are excellent for the beginner, and
should be read in the order given above.
By circulating them among your friends
you can bring them to a knowledge of
Socialist teachings.

The April number of the Monthly is
now out and is being mailed. We again
call attention to the notice which ap-
pears in the paper that, owing to the
low price of the Monthly, we cannot
change addresses. Complaints of non-
delivery of the Monthly can be kept to a
minimum if our friends will take pains
to write names and addresses plainly.
In sending in complaints of non-delivery
be sure to give names and addresses. We
cannot look up complaints that state,
"The readers whose names I sent in say
they are not getting the paper." You
must give us data to work on.

Several of the party organizations have
made no response to our recent urgent
request that some effort be made to set-
tle bills due us. We are unable to un-
derstand why any section should fail to
respond to the call. The large amount
due seriously cripples us in our work
here, and we hope that every effort will
be made by all concerned to square up
accounts, due us. Individual comrades
should see to it that the matter is
brought up before their sections.

The following persons sent in five or
more subscriptions to The Weekly Peo-
ple last week:

L. A. Knight, Pueblo, Colo.....	12
William Walker, Seattle, Wash.....	10
F. Brown, Cleveland, O.....	10
J. Matthews, Cleveland, O.....	9
Charles Michael, Denver, Colo.....	5
Oscar Brooks, Red Bluff, Cal.....	5
J. R. Stupel, St. Louis, Mo.....	5
Scattering.....	145
Total.....	153

The record of the Monthly for the
week is:
Aineth and Twelfth Assembly Dis-
tricts, Brooklyn, N. Y..... 29
Clinton H. Pie, Albany, N. Y..... 20
F. Lichtsinn, Peoria, Ill..... 19
J. C. Butterworth, Paterson, N. J..... 18
W. J. Gerry, Colorado Springs, Colo..... 11
F. Fellerman, Hartford, Conn..... 10
William Walker, Seattle, Wash..... 10
ohn Farrell, Lowell, Mass..... 10
Leon Lacoste, New Orleans, La..... 10
Adam Marx, New London, Conn..... 10
A. Van Doesburg, Holland, Mich..... 10
James McDermott, Woburn, Mass..... 10
I. Shapiro, Hamilton, Ont., Canada..... 10
G. A. Jennings, East St. Louis, Ill..... 10
Peter Nielson, Woburn, Mass..... 10
Scattering..... 97
Total..... 342
Let us see if we cannot double this in
the very near future.

POLITICAL WANDERINGS

(Continued from Page 1.)

to get near the heathenish temple of
Wall street so that he could swat the
golden calf.

In 1895 I ran up against the Labor
Exchange, another of the short cuts to
the co-operative commonwealth. Argu-
ment for this scheme was thusly: It is
not necessary to have a majority. Trusts
rule the nation at the present day. Let
us form a labor trust that will be more
powerful than any corporation and we
will have a co-operative commonwealth
that will expand and contain the nation
more quickly than the people can be
converted to Socialist theories through
political agitation. The people do not
accept theory readily, but they can un-
derstand practice. Let us practice our
theory every day in the year, and not
merely vote for it once a year.

The dreamer thinks to work the so-
cial revolution so quietly and impercep-
tibly that it will never be noticed. He
puts the cart before the horse when he
advocates the "practice" of Socialism
before the revolution has been worked
in the minds of the people. One of
these Labor Exchange gentlemen told
me that no objection to the plan could
hold water. He said the mere fact that
a large percentage of the means of pro-
duction is now in the hands of the cap-
italists was no argument against the
Exchange, because all wealth is created
by labor out of crude material that has
comparatively little value. The crude
material exists in abundance all over
this continent, and much of it is rated
at next to worthless. All that the
branches of the Labor Exchange had to
do was apply their labor to this crude
material and build up new wealth.

The Labor Exchange went the way of
all things that disregard the fact that
capitalism cannot be overturned with-
out the workers first capturing the gov-
ernment, and from that, central organ-
ism of the body politic inaugurating the
co-operative commonwealth on a national
basis. Imagine, if you can, wage-work-
ers able to create wealth at will, out of
next to worthless material, selling their
labor power to capitalists until the ad-
vent of the discoverer of the Labor Ex-
change!

One of the features of a reform move-
ment is the "sacrificing" done by the re-
formers for the benefit of mankind. Here
is an extract from a letter: "With me
this is a labor of love. Love for hu-
manity and the betterment of mankind.
I gave up my studies and my work
weeks ago and came here to assume the
management of affairs, without favor
and without price. My work is with the
poor—the downtrodden and the op-
pressed. I have sacrificed much in this
movement. I have crushed down per-
sonal aspiration and the ambition of my
life, that I may devote myself to
the work of helping others. The op-
pressed are incapable of rising above
their present level, and unless some
may be found who are willing to sacri-
fice their personal ambition upon the
altar of Duty, then the seal of doom is
impressed upon civilization."

Every letter I received from this man
dwelt on the great sacrifices he was
making for humanity. I was nearing
the end of my wanderings at this time
and called him down on some of his
gush, and he took such offense that our
friendship was severed. The man who
goes about proclaiming himself a mar-
tyr is not of much use to any movement.

One of the duties of the aggressive
Populist was to write to the Congress-
man representing his district, advising
the Congressman how to vote on cer-
tain measures. It mattered not that
the Congressman was elected on a ticket
and platform at complete variance with
populism, we would put the Congress-
man on record anyway. The usual an-
swer to such letters was very non-com-
mittal, the gentleman would be cour-
teous but diplomatic. The best inter-
ests of his constituency would deter-
mine his action, etc., etc. A little out-
side of this ordinary writing to Congress-
men was a letter I sent to W. A. Peffer
early in 1896. I had seen in The People
an item that reflected in some way on
the integrity of the hirsute exhibit from
Kansas. I wrote to the Senator asking
him to explain. His laconic response
was, "The gold press is a power for
evil." But I was then past the callow
period when I would have accepted this
as an answer to charges made.

Try to pin one of these gentry down
to a discussion of facts and they will
scurm and dodge at every turn. I
once had an experience with J. A. Way-
land. He cared nothing for criticism so
long as thousands continued to buy his
paper. He thought that endorsement
enough, and he might have added—it
pays. No doubt if he let others do his
thinking for him he might at once be-
come a full-fledged, intelligent Socialist.

Now I have no objection to a man
thinking as he pleases. Wayland may
"think" the moon is made of green
cheese if he likes, but when he pub-
lishes some of his "thinking" about So-
cialism, a subject on which he shows
utter ignorance, judged by the standards
of scientific Socialism, he will find his
"thinking" combated not by other go-
as-you-please "thinking," but by facts
from which there is no getting away.
At that time Mr. Wayland wrote me
that he should continue to own and con-
duct his paper as he saw fit, feeling as
much confidence in his own integrity as
in any party machinery. Wayland
claimed to have turned over many thou-
sands to the "cause." I guess the So-
cial Democrats find that Mr. Wayland
and his paper are still superior to any
organization.

It was a glorious day when the S. L.
P. cut loose from all privately-owned
papers. The only paper the party can
depend on is the one that is owned and
controlled by the whole party. Recent
developments have shown that the party
as a whole can never go against itself.
There are a few thousand dollars still due
on the plant, but if we but concentrate
our means and our efforts on it, that
will soon be wiped out. Then we can
turn to and drive the fakirs from the
field.

TRUSTS

(Continued from Page 3.)

menious in comparison to the amount
of capital formerly required. It gener-
ally ends in a consolidation of the com-
peting corporations, as may be seen in
the consolidation of the competing elec-
trical corporation—now composing the
electric trust. Competition with trusts
may flourish for a time, but with the re-
organization of trusts on a more sub-
stantial basis, and the weeding-out pro-
cesses of industrial crises, which result
in greater concentration, it becomes less
and less effective. Competition, instead
of being the life of trade, is the death
of it.

That the trust is a passing phase of
industrial development is true only in
the sense that it is leading to a higher,
more efficient and equitable system of
production and distribution; but not in
the sense that it will relapse into the
conditions prevailing in pre-trust pro-
duction. Such a conclusion is not war-
ranted by the history of trusts or the
science of evolution.

The trust, by its co-ordination of in-
dustry, elimination of waste and com-
petition, and enormous increase in in-
dustry, has demonstrated the feasibility
of co-operative production on a large
scale, and the ability of such produc-
tion to provide the necessities and lux-
uries of society. The trust, in organiz-
ing and training the working class to
operate industry without the superin-
tendence and invention of the capitalist
class, and in utilizing stock companies
and financial institutions run by hired
employees in its formation, thus dispens-
ing with the "abstinence" and "saving"
of the capitalist class, has proven that
class to be a superfluous and useless
class. The trust, in fewer words, has
demonstrated the social character of in-
dustry and emphasized the necessity for
social ownership. Social ownership can
only be undertaken by the working
class. It is the majority class. No other
class in society has so little to lose and
so much to gain therefrom. The cap-
italist class, few in number, will strive
to retain its anachronistic and unjust
possessions; while the middle class
would revert to former conditions, if it
could. There is no going back, the work-
ing class must go forward. For it and
it alone must march on to the only so-
lution that the problem can suggest, if
the race is not to stagnate or revert to
barbarism.

The trust is a transition to Socialism.
As the beginning of the capitalist era
marked the concentration of industry in
factories, as the beginning of the trust
era marked the concentration of corpora-
tions in combinations, the beginning
of the next great era will mark the con-
centration of combinations in society.
Feudalism and capitalism will then have
traversed from serf and wage-labor, with
their dominating baryonial and capitalist
classes, to co-operative labor, with its
fraternal administration of, for and by
the workers—to Socialism. Socialism is
the remedy for trusts.

BUFFALO FREE SPEECH FIGHT.

This Saturday, May 2, Section Buf-
falo will resume its fight against the at-
tempt of police Superintendent Bull to
suppress the open air meetings held by
our party in Buffalo. At eight o'clock
in the evening of that day the first of
a series of open air meetings arranged by
the section will be held at the corner
Main and Genesee streets. Every reader
of this paper is invited to be present.

The following two meetings are also ar-
ranged for, to be held at the Labor Ly-
ceum in Florence parlors, 527 Main, near
Genesee street.

Sunday, May 3, at three p. m., Com-
rade B. Reinstein's lecture on "The May
Day versus the Official 'Labor Day' in
September."

Sunday, May 10, at three p. m., At-
torney Philip V. Fennelly's lecture on
"Society and Crime."

Pueblo's Election Satisfactory.
Pueblo, Colo., April 20.—Following is
the Socialist Labor Party vote. The
Peaks had no ticket in the field:

For Mayor, I. A. Knight, 92 votes;
for City Clerk, Jacob Klein, 134; for
City Auditor, R. J. Duff, 154; for City
Treasurer, Simon Cashmaker, 122; for
City Attorney, W. J. Knight, 125; for
City Engineer, Jacob Ney, Jr., 139; for
Aldermen—First Ward, W. J. Miller, 21;
Second Ward, Jacob Frank, 10; Third
Ward, Mary Schimmer, 11; Fourth
Ward, W. B. Lazaro, 5; Fifth, Sixth
and Seventh Wards, no candidates;
Eighth Ward, William Juergens, 29.

We are very well pleased with the
result. Fraternally, J. A. Knight.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

AS TO N. E. C.

A circular issued by Section New York
suggesting a change in the construction
of the N. E. C. at our next national con-
vention induces me to take up that sub-
ject in order to express my opinion
through the columns of our party organs.

The subject is not new, it has agitated
the party since 1896, different suggestions
have been offered and all have been
turned down as being wanting and to my
mind the one offered by Section
New York will not remedy existing evils
if put into effect, but will make matters
worse. This does not mean that we
ought not to make a change, but if we
make one to make it so that we will be
safe at all times.

The epithets spoken of in that circular
can be better explained if we look at our
constitution of the '93 convention and
compare it with the constitution of the
convention of 1900 and we will find, that
we have abandoned democratic principles
that we have enacted legislation for the
past and not for the future, that we have
allowed ourselves to be carried off our
feet by exceptional cases which should
have never influenced a convention; at
least, not to such an extent as to take
away the power from the membership
and put that power into the hands of an
executive committee.

The first step in that direction was
taken by the '96 convention, which (in
order to make legal an illegal act of the
N. E. C., it having refused to submit to
a general vote a proposition which had
all the constitutional requirements and
was declared by the N. E. C. not to be
in the interest of the party), added to
Sec. 17, Art. V.: "but if in the opinion
of the convention the proposition is not
in the interest of the party it shall not
be submitted to a general vote unless
five per cent. of all the sections in good
standing subsequently re-endorse it." We
gave those 7 men the same power as have
20 per cent. of the membership, notwith-
standing the fact that the N. E. C. is in
full control of the party press, which
enables them to make known their posi-
tion in a case. But the convention of
1900 went further and put the N. E. C.
out of all control of the membership by
abolishing the National Board of Appeal
and Grievances. Sec. 4, Art. V. of the
constitution can not be regarded as a
substitute for it, as that is equal to open
rebellion against the N. E. C. by five dif-
ferent States. In other words, to reach
the N. E. C. for wrongdoing we must
carry the firebrand into five different
States, we must even carry it further,
for the convention of 1900 inserted Sec.
7 d of Art. V. of the constitution which
gives the N. E. C. the right "to expel or
suspend any State Executive Committee
guilty of disloyalty." But what con-
stitutes disloyalty the constitution does
not define, and leaves the N. E. C. the
only judge in such matters, and the
N. E. C. in full control of the party or-
gans is in a position to keep from the
membership everything not in their favor
and as a result we have statements and
counterstatements sent all over the coun-
try. This ought to make it clear to
everyone, that no matter what kind of a
National Executive Committee we may
create and we retain those rules, "local
troubles will become national and, worst
of all, the temper that such a develop-
ment tends to excite endangers the
chances of a calm consideration of the
original differences."

As stated above, we have enacted legis-
lation for the past, not for the future.
To enact legislation for the past is re-
actionary and does not speak well for
the sturdy democracy that the circular
of Section New York speaks of. The
convention of 1900 met under the in-
fluence of the 10th of July, 1899. It was
called to order with a trophy wrung from
the Kangaroos and that influence domi-
nated the convention all through. The
N. E. C. laid stress on that fact when it
called for a general vote for abolishing
the Board of Trustees. If the N. E. C.
in order to carry that day had to resort
to extraordinary measures and break the
constitution, the convention should have
satisfied itself with endorsing their ac-
tion and should never have gone so far
as to make encroachments on the mem-
bership. Success lies in the recognition
of the fact that—a thing can be carried
only to a certain point. If carried further
it will reverse itself and work harm.
The convention of 1900 in making a rule
out of the exception did carry the thing
too far and we have experienced the